The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

The Cherokee Trail of Tears
By Harold E. Fey

American Baptists Convene
Editorial Correspondence

Our Gravest Heresy
By Henry P. Van Dusen

Presbyterians at Los Angeles
News Report of General Assembly

JUNE 8, 1955

In This Issue

HAROLD E. FEY

wrote the article on problems confronting the Eastern Cherokees after a firsthand study at their reservation in North Carolina. Other articles in this series, all likewise written on the basis of personal investigation, have been: "Indian Winter" (March 2), "The Indian and the Law" (March 9), "Our Neighbor the Indian" (March 23), "Our National Indian Policy" (March 30), "Most Indians Are Poor" (May 18) and "Navaho Race with Tragedy" (May 25). There will be one more article in the series, summarizing its facts and drawing conclusions. After that the series will be reprinted in pamphlet form.

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is president of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and has borne as large a part as any American in the development of the ecumenical movement into and through the World Council of Churches. Dr. Van Dusen wrote the article in this issue while traveling in Africa.

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The Christian Century

Established 1884, as *The Christian Oracle.*
Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
Refounded 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison and developed as an undenominational journal of religion.

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1900, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1955 by Christian Century Foundation. All rights reserved. Published weekly by Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

$6.50 a year. Canadian postage, 50 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.50 extra. Single copy, 20 cents.

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries.

Coming Events

June 8-9. National Council of Churches General Board Meeting, New York city.
June 8-12. Lutheran Free Church 59th Annual Conference, Minneapolis.
June 8-15. Methodist Student Movement Leadership Training Conference, Casowasco, N. Y.
June 9-15. Southern Baptist Church Music Conference, Glorieta, N. M.
June 11-15. Christian Educational Television Consultation (N.C.C. Division of Christian Education), Green Lake, Wis.
June 11-18. Methodist Student Movement Leadership Training Conference, Epworth Forest, Ind.
June 12. Children's Day.
June 12-17. Southwest Conference on the Christian World Mission, Mount Sequoyah, Fayetteville, Ark.
June 13-17. Meredith College Annual School of Christian Studies, Raleigh, N. C.
June 13-19. Augustana Lutheran Church 96th Annual Synod, St. Paul, Minn.
June 13-19. Church of God International Convocation, 75th Anniversary Jubilee, Anderson, Ind.
June 13-July 1. Butler University School of Religion 5th Annual Religious Broadcasting Workshop (in cooperation with N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission and Indianapolis Church Federation), Indianapolis.
June 13-Aug. 13. Summer Workshop in Intergroup Education (in cooperation with National Conference of Christians and Jews), Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Ore.
June 14-16. Pine Mountain Institute of Christianity, Gorham, N. H.; theme: "Biblical Theology"; Stephen Crary, Douglas Horton, Burton Throckmorton, speakers.
June 14-19. Church of the Brethren General Conference, Grand Rapids, Mich.
June 15-17. American Theological Library Association Annual Meeting, Union Theological Seminary, New York city.
June 15-20. Cumberland Presbyterian Church Missionary Convention, Lubbock, Tex.
June 15-29. International Study-Service Project for Students of All Nations and Faiths (Lutheran Student Association, National Lutheran Council Division of Student Service), Mount Cross, Calif.
June 16-17. Jamestown College Convocation on "Toward a Christian Philosophy of Education," Jamestown, N. D.; Conrad Bergendoff, Kenneth I. Brown, Merrimon Cuninggim, J. Edward Dirks, Ruth E. Eckert, Joseph Haroutunian, William E. Hulme, O. P. Kretzmann, Theron B. Maxson, Edwin H. Rian, Elton Trueblood, speakers.
June 19. Japan International Christian University Sunday.
June 19-22. Suomi Synod (Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church) 66th Annual Convention, Ely, Minn.
June 19-25. Kappa Phi (National Methodist Girls' Club) Biennial Council, Boulder, Colo.
June 19-25. Summer Conference and School of Missions, Boulder, Colo.
June 19-25. United Christian Youth Movement Training Conference, Black Forest, Colo.
June 19-July 2. Hartford School of Religious Education Summer Session, Hartford, Conn.
June 20-24. Evangelical and Reformed Churchmen's Brotherhood Convention, Milwaukee, Wis.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXXII CHICAGO, JUNE 8, 1955 NUMBER 23

EDITORIAL

THE REFUGEE RELIEF Act of 1953 needs drastic amendment, and needs it before this session of Congress adjourns. So President Eisenhower told Congress in a special message sent on May 27. The message asked for ten specific changes in the present law. In general, these would take out of the law the jokers the late Senator Pat McCarran inserted at the last moment before enactment. That explains why Representative Francis E. Walter, McCarran's old partner in fashioning immigration legislation to thwart rather than aid prospective immigrants, almost before he had finished reading the proposed Eisenhower amendments announced that he would oppose them. From the standpoint of those who want to see the Refugee Relief Act made workable, the most important of the President's proposals is number 8. This would drop the requirement for individual "assurances," and return to accepting assurances from volunteer welfare organizations, such as Church World Service and the Lutheran and Catholic bodies. Next in effectiveness in breaking the existing log jam would be number 7, which would end the requirement of a satisfactory two-year "history" from every refugee granted entrance—something which escapees from behind the iron curtain obviously cannot obtain from communist governments. The one point at which we see need for careful wording would be in framing number 1, which could be used to open the door to a stampede of non-refugee relatives, especially Italians, of immigrants already in this country. But the President's entire list of recommendations should be adopted. Church organizations and individual churchmen should do their utmost to see that Congress does not adjourn without doing so.

Amend the Refugee Relief Act!

Sir Anthony Eden Wins A Popular Mandate

BRITAIN'S ELECTION furnished no surprises. It settled one thing and unsettled another. Its outcome, a Conservative majority of 59 parliamentary seats over all parties and of nearly a million popular votes over Labor, should give the victors secure control of the House of Commons for a full term of five years. More important, it settles the status of Sir Anthony Eden at the coming meetings of the Big Four governments. He will go to the conference of heads of state, and will direct British participation in any subsequent negotiations, not as an "heir apparent" of one man, Sir Winston Churchill, but as a prime minister in his own right with the authority of an impressive popular mandate. As such, he may prove the key figure in efforts to end the cold war. If that happens, and he succeeds in so doing, Americans will not begrudge him his full measure of world gratitude. The unsettling outcome of the election was, of course, its effect on the future of the Labor party. The internal rift between the go-slow caution of its trade union majority and the demand for aggressive socialist nationalization made by its Bevanite minority has left the party without a coherent policy. That probably had much to do with the decision of nearly a million and a half normally Labor voters not to vote or to vote Conservative this year. Whether out of the period of interparty recrimination ahead, Labor will emerge with its divisions healed and a program to command enthusiasm unitedly accepted, or whether it will split into two parties, cannot as yet be foreseen. But the most important domestic consequence of the election is clearly this big question mark it has placed over the party's future. The fading out of the Liberal party, now reduced to less than three-quarters of a million votes, should warn Laborites of the fateful nature of the decisions they must make within the next few years—or months.

Niemöller Again Under Fire

MARTIN NIEMÖLLER seems fated to live out his days at the center of controversy. The latest is the storm that has broken within the Evangelical Church in Germany (the E.K.D.) over his conduct as foreign secretary of that body. Because of criticisms at the recent General Synod of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany (the V.E.L.K.D.), seemingly threatening some kind of drastic action unless Dr. Niemöller's department is reorganized, he has written Bishop Dibelius that he will not perform the duties of his office until aspersions against his actions and motives are withdrawn. News dispatches do not make clear whether he has resigned or has only suspended occupation of his E.K.D. post. But there can be no doubt about the uproar. Dr. Niemöller's unusual office as a church's "secretary for external affairs" reflected the need felt by German Protestantism, when the E.K.D. was organized after World War II, for special effort to establish relationships with churches in other countries. As a symbol of German Protestant opposition to Hitler, Dr. Niemöller was a natural choice for that post. During the last few years, however, he has become—along with Gustav Heinemann—the leader of Protestant opposition to Chancellor Adenauer's rearmament policies. Dr.

Heinemann resigned from the Adenauer cabinet, and later was defeated for re-election as head of the E.K.D. over that issue. Now the storm swirls around Dr. Niemöller. It is probably true that a majority in the E.K.D., both clergy and laity, backs the Adenauer rearmament program. Niemöller and Heinemann raise minority voices. And in western Germany the opponents of rearmament are under fire as communist stooges. Some of the charges made against them have been as wild, and as unfounded, as those leveled against Americans accused of playing the communist game. Men like Niemöller and Heinemann simply do not trust a rearmed Germany. As one follows the press reports of Hitler generals flocking back to take a hand in the Bonn rearmament, who can be sure they are wrong?

Airline Stewardesses Want Dry Planes

ANYONE who looks at the airline ads must have noted a recent increase in their emphasis on the alcoholic drinks provided for passengers. Overseas flights in particular seem to be competing for business by playing up the availability of liquor at and between meals. The slick magazines teem with pictures of lovely stewardesses bending over the passengers with trays of cocktails. Addition of a lower level cocktail lounge on some of the larger planes is hailed as one of the greatest advances in aviation history. Well, the airline stewardesses see another side of those pictures. As a consequence, the Association of Airline Stewardesses has asked the airlines to end all in-flight service of alcoholic beverages. This for the simple but sufficient reason that the liquored-up air passenger is even more of a nuisance than the shipboard souse. In extreme cases he has become an outright menace. The airlines should not subject their employees to the indignities they sometimes encounter in trying to control airborne drunks. Neither should other passengers have to put up with them within the small confines of a plane's cabin. It is regrettable that the airlines had to wait for the stewardesses to make an issue of such annoyances. They should never have allowed the problem to arise. In the case of most U.S. airlines it has arisen only in the last four or five years, for they were originally dry. At airports and on planes, liquor has no more rightful place than in automobile traffic. The airlines have a responsibility here they are not discharging.

Mrs. Bethune's Death Marks Changing Negro Leadership

ONE OF AMERICA's great died the other day, just before her 80th birthday. She was Mary McLeod Bethune, and the story of her life should be taught every schoolchild for generations to come. She was the child of slaves, fifteenth in a family of 17 children, who trudged ten miles every day to and from the one-room schoolhouse where she started her education, and who founded what is today Bethune-Cookman College in Florida with total resources of $1.50 and her own faith. Her faith, she used to say, was in God and herself. That proved sufficient to make her not only one of the great leaders of her race, but one of the truly influential Americans of her time. Mrs. Bethune's death, coming so soon after that of Walter White (see the Century for April 6), prompts reflection on the changing character of American Negro leadership. Both Mr. White and Mrs. Bethune represented a sort of bridge between the leadership of the Booker T. Washington-George Washington Carver period and that which is emerging as Negroes throw off the disabilities of second-class citizenship. The older leadership counseled industry as a means to gain recognition; it soft-pedaled talk about Negro rights in its confidence that Negro achievements would gain white approval with consequent rewards. Mrs. Bethune and Mr. White knew that process was too slow to satisfy a generation of Negroes on the educational and economic upgrade, scornful of the "Uncle Tom" leadership of the past. In their insistence that the civil and social injustices suffered by their minority group must be remedied, both were frequently attacked as radicals or even as communist tools. In truth, they saved their race in a critical period from following such leaders as Paul Robeson and Ben Davis into the communist trap. Today a new race leadership must take the place of these potent figures who are passing off the stage. It will probably be more immersed in politics, less identified with the churches, than has been the leadership of the past. But will it have as sound a moral integrity, as deep a wisdom? The portents are none too reassuring.

The National Game and National Character

BASEBALL is the great American game. Most Americans accept that as an article of faith—and who are we to deny it? But if baseball is a manifestation of the American spirit translated into terms of sport, what traits of character does it encourage? Not fair play, if an interview given by the groundkeeper of the champion Cleveland club is any indication. It has been common knowledge that ball parks, instead of providing standard playfields, have been so built as to favor the peculiar talents of home-team players. Neither Babe Ruth nor Ted Williams might have won such legendary fame had they been shooting, when at home, for the fences in, say, the Senator or White Sox ball parks. It is surprising, however, to find the man who keeps the Indian park bragging of tricks used by his ground crew to give his team unfair advantages. The Cleveland field is worked over every day, Emil Brossard, the groundkeeper, told the sports editor of the *Kansas City Star*, to make ground balls hit by the opposition easier for Cleveland's notoriously slow infield to handle, to make base paths a hazard for potential base-stealers, or to make it impossible for accomplished bunters to practice their specialty. "We just fix the slant of the baselines," said the groundkeeper. "We can make it so it's almost impossible to push a bunt down either baseline. The ball will roll foul sure as shootin'. That stops the guys that like to bunt." Do the visiting teams complain? Sure, but how can they prove anything? There is more than a suspicion that what is acknowledged in Cleveland takes place unacknowledged in other parks. Some may regard this as too small a matter for general concern. But such deliberate perversion of the spirit of fair play in the national sport can hardly be without effect on the national character. The "anything to win" spirit which has made the Cleveland ball park a

travesty on good sportsmanship is the same fundamental corruption that is eating at every part of the moral fiber of American life.

Iran Seeks to Suppress Baha'i Faith

SO RAPIDLY has Baha'iism grown into a world girdling religion that many Westerners do not realize that in Iran, the country of its birth, it is regarded as a schismatic Muslim sect. Iran has a state religion—Shiah Islam. This is now giving a demonstration of the way an established religion always tends to behave, when it thinks it can safely do so, against nonconformity. Fanatical mullahs began preaching a national holy war against the Baha'iists during the recent fasting month of Ramadan. This developed enough popular tumult so that, in mid-May, the government ordered the suppression of the movement. On May 23 troops of the Teheran garrison moved in on the Baha'i temple in that city, built during the reign of the present shah's father, and started razing its dome. It is to be converted into a mosque. Of course, persecution is no new experience for the Baha'iists; it seems to be, as the New Testament suggests, a touchstone of the vigor of any new religion. As yet, Persia's Baha'iists have experienced nothing to compare with the savage martyrdoms meted out to the Bab, the Baha'i founder, and 20,000 of his followers in the 1850s. Nor is any such massacre in prospect. However, this outbreak of persecution in Iran is another sign of the reawakening of Islamic spirit which is being felt through the whole length of the Muslim world. It is unfortunate that in this case it has been diverted into such reactionary channels, though the attack on the Baha'iists, coming just at this time, provides an enlightening comment on the idyllic picture of Islamic toleration presented in the May 9 issue of *Life*. Meanwhile, the expansion of Baha'iism will not suffer. Its message of a universal brotherhood based on a continuing revelation and pointing toward a future universal government appeals to many contemporary minds, as do its syncretistic features. Like Buddhism and Christianity, it may discover that rejection in its birthplace is a prelude to the gaining of strength among strangers.

Another Battle at White Plains

THE Young Women's Republican Club of Westchester county, New York's swankest suburb, does not like controversy. However, in an attempt to avoid a threatened picketing of their May session at White Plains, the youngish ladies of the manor country stepped from the frying pan into the fire. It seems that shortly after it was announced that their speaker would be Omar A. Khadra, alternate delegate to the United Nations from Saudi Arabia, Margaret M. Calnan, a director of the local club and vice-president of the New York State Association of Young Republicans, began to receive telephone calls. The callers, whom according to the *New York Herald Tribune* Miss Calnan did not identify, said that "they would rather Khadra would not speak at the meeting." The Westchester club president is reported to have added that the callers implied they would picket the meeting if Mr. Khadra spoke. The local club's executive was hastily summoned and voted by a large majority to cancel the invitation to the Arab diplomat. That, thought the young ladies, ended that. But the newspapers got hold of the facts and quite a controversy has arisen in White Plains and its environs over whether either the unidentified callers or the Republican club acted as Americans should. We wonder what thoughts ran through Mr. Khadra's mind when the young ladies "stood him up." Was he impressed that America is a free land where all sides can be heard? Will he go back to Saudi Arabia determined to help that admittedly backward country progress toward the "freedom" he found in America? In the last few years lecture bureaus have been going out of business in unprecedented numbers or have been forced to consolidate to avoid bankruptcy. Among the reasons the lecture agents give is the fear of controversy that has gripped sponsoring clubs and civic organizations. People who might bestir themselves to go to hear a "controversial" speaker had rather sit at home and get their diet of milksop via television (an institution, incidentally, just as frightened by controversy as the Republican young women). But where is this trend taking us? What is it doing to America? In the final analysis the young women of Westchester will have only themselves to blame if their children grow to adulthood in a society which neither practices nor regards traditional American freedoms. For at the Battle of White Plains, 1955 version, they surrendered without firing a shot.

Argentine Congress Votes For Disestablishment

AS EXPECTED, President Perón's compliant Congress has voted to call a constitutional convention to disestablish the Roman Catholic Church in Argentina. Only 12 votes were cast against the dictator's wishes in the lower house; in the senate the vote was unanimous. In the debate, the minority who dared to stand out intimated that the church might be willing to give up its economic privileges if the constitutional provision that "the federal government supports the Roman Catholic apostolic faith" were retained. Even the *New York Times,* with its unmatched facilities for newsgathering, professes its inability to discover what is really at the bottom of the quarrel between Perón and the church. ¶Some Americans may be startled to learn, from the Ecumenical Press Service of the World Council, that the April issue of the magazine published by the Russian Orthodox Church in Paris concluded its comment on the expulsion of Archbishop Boris from the United States and of Father Bissonnette from Russia with the words: "We firmly believe that sooner or later Holy America will take its place side by side with Holy Russia." ¶Americans interested in how integration works in formerly segregated schools will find much information in the 16-page booklet put out by the Quakers, *The Right of Every Child.* It describes what has happened in the Washington, D.C., public schools. Copies on request from the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia. ¶Switzerland's parliament will consider this month repeal of the constitutional ban on the Society of Jesus. There is strong Protestant

support for the proposal. ¶The department of justice, guided by recent Supreme Court decisions setting aside convictions of conscientious objectors, now concedes that a claimant for c.o. status must be given a full FBI field investigation and be furnished before trial with a copy of the FBI report to Selective Service authorities.

Baptists Plan United Effort

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

Atlantic City, May 24.

IN A CONVENTION notable for outstanding speeches, the address which made the biggest impression on the American Baptists was that by C. C. Warren, newly elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention and pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charlotte, North Carolina. Dr. Warren spoke quietly, pleasantly and for only a few minutes. But he spoke about united action among Baptists, and this is a very exciting subject, especially when it comes from an official representative of the Southern convention. Dr. Warren referred to an action taken by the recent Miami meeting of the S.B.C., approving a proposal that all Baptists, including the American Baptist Convention and the Negro Baptist conventions, jointly engage "in a great nationwide evangelistic crusade or emphasis during the years 1958 or 1959." In addition Dr. Warren proposed, with the backing of his convention, a "five-year program of advance which will culminate in 1964, the date of the 150th anniversary of the organization of Baptist work on a national level in the United States."

I

The meeting here was drawing to a close when the president of the Southern convention made his proposal, but the regular order of business was set aside while the American convention voted "heartily [to] welcome" the suggestion of united action. According to Mrs. Leslie Swain, who made the motion, the proposal for cooperation originated in a joint committee of the two denominations. The committee also recommended that stewardship and religious education be included with evangelism as objectives. This convention gave its "cordial endorsement" ("delighted" would have been a better word) to the overall plan, and hoped with its southern counterpart that the result might be "a tremendous impact for Christ upon the spiritual and moral life of America and the world." While it took no specific action on the point, it apparently also agreed with President Warren's hope that the 1964 sesquicentennial might bring together a huge throng of Baptists, "perhaps 50,000," to acclaim the Baptist heritage.

Back in the 1920s, the Northern and Southern conventions met simultaneously in Washington and held some sessions in common. President Warren said it was his opinion not enough such meetings have been held. He was a little startled at the enthusiasm with which this convention received his address, and not quite certain what its reception meant. Unless this observer is mistaken, it means that the deep bond of affection and common purpose which marks the Baptist heritage has survived all the quarrels of recent years and exists today as a resource of extraordinary ecumenical power waiting to be used for the advancement of the Kingdom of God.

The two conventions have now approved preliminary steps to filming the life of Roger Williams. Working with the Religious Film Foundation of Hollywood, they hope to make as important a contribution to American religious life as the Lutherans have made and are still making with their film on Martin Luther.

II

For some time Baptist churches have been considering the related problems of headquarters reorganization and location. This convention adopted proposals centralizing some administrative processes. It had the American Institute of Management study its organization and got an objective and highly informative analysis which was of real service in making up its mind on several matters. Two home and two foreign mission societies are being merged and many steps are being taken to improve communications between members and their servants at headquarters. One recommendation was that all the boards, which are scattered in several places, should be brought with minor exceptions under one roof.

A decision on location of this centralized headquarters was postponed for another year while the administrative changes are made. A substantial majority of the denomination and a small majority of the General Council favor a midwest location, near the main strength of the denomination. A majority of the headquarters staff is said to favor a New York headquarters. Postponement of the decision by this Atlantic City meeting will give the forces favoring New York time to wear down the opposition, it was said here. An important argument in favor of a decision for New York will be found in the publicity given to the building of the National Council of Churches headquarters, whose chief benefactor is John D. Rockefeller, Jr., an American Baptist. The N.C.C. building will include space for the headquarters of some denominational groups.

American Baptist Convention churches lost slightly in membership last year, according to reports given here. Over the last 20 years, the management-institute study showed, the population of the United States has increased 23 per cent, while American Baptist membership has increased 11 per cent. Other major denominations, led by the Southern Baptists, have outstripped the national rate of population growth. The American Baptists have fallen behind. The reasons are complex. They include such factors as deficiency in number and quality of ministers: 700 churches have no pastors and 2,560 have pastors who are inadequately trained. This means that more than half the 6,000 American Baptist churches suffer from lack of adequate leadership. An effort began during the last year to remedy this deficiency through the recruiting of ministers. But the convention gives almost nothing (less than $100,000) to the support of its eight seminaries, in contrast with the Southern convention, which puts millions into its five seminaries.

Another reason for the loss is the chipping away of American Baptist membership by the Conservative Baptists, who split off in recent years, and by older Baptist sects,

which still have an appeal that can split or disaffect a weak church here and there. Also it must be reported that Southern Baptist evangelists move into many areas to which people from the south have gone in recent years and set up competing churches which take members of American Baptist churches away from their original allegiance. Determined efforts on the part of many American Baptists to practice Christian forbearance and comity in their relations with other churches only make easier the invasions of the raiders who have no concern with the total Christian impact on the community.

The American convention has aided 33 colleges for Negroes in the south, having spent at least $10 million in this form of Christian service which does not show up in membership figures. It is still the Protestant church which does most to help bilingual groups, and these ordinarily are shrinking rather than expanding factors in the population. Much of the home missions work of the northern church is not primarily designed to produce church membership. The shift of population from the south to the north, which has become so pronounced in recent years of industrial expansion, has not affected other denominations as much as it has the Baptists, whose principal strength has been in the south. All these and many other factors must be taken into account when one seeks to understand the status of American Baptist membership.

III

There was general agreement that one of the most searching addresses at the convention was given by Edwin T. Dahlberg, minister of the Delmar Baptist Church of St. Louis. This former convention president pleaded for cooperation under the title: "Two Can Walk Together." He cited the cooperation that has been possible between churches of the National and World councils of churches, which differ from each other much more than Baptists differ from Baptists. He urged Baptists to make a new attempt to work together, concluding: "May God clear the vision of us all, and dissolve the centers of religious tension. Could it be that he is only waiting for tears to be shed, many tears? When tears are shed, many more than two can walk together, and say at the end of the day as did the two disciples on the road to Emmaus: 'Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way and while he opened to us the Scriptures?' "

Convention resolutions gave strong support to the United Nations. They commended the Baptist Youth Fellowship for giving over $32,000 for world relief through Church World Service. They condemned the failure of the Refugee Relief act of 1953 to admit refugees and asked for revision of the McCarran-Walter immigration law. They favored "coexistence" with Russia and urged continued efforts to negotiate an end to the cold war, using wherever possible the facilities of the United Nations.

This convention particularly stressed the importance of negotiations in southeast Asia and urged a cease-fire in the Formosa strait. It opposed universal military training and favored more positive church action in easing racial tensions. It approved a proposal that its Council on Christian Social Progress carry on a 20-month educational campaign to get Baptists to study their daily work from the viewpoint of their Christian vocation. It urged a slowdown in the government's termination program for American Indians and took a strong stand against the California law which requires loyalty oaths before churches can receive exemption from taxation as religious organizations. And it spent quite a lot of time redefining "historic Baptist principles," which exercise should have proved that whatever else may be said, the American Baptist Convention is composed of real Baptists. H.E.F.

Riffraff

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The pastor of St. John's-by-the-Gas-Station was in the drugstore having a third cup of coffee and looking as pleased with himself as a cat that has just swallowed a canary.

"What has happened to you?" I asked as I sat down beside him.

"I had a good scrap yesterday, and there is nothing like a slug fest to keep up one's interest in the ministry," he told me.

"Whom—if that is the right grammar—did you slug?" I inquired.

"Some of my church officials. I was just trying to avoid the woe that is promised to fall on you when all men speak well of you. And, boy, did I succeed! You should have heard them! St. John's is on the way to becoming a Christian church. We are running out of Bank Presidents and Chairmen of Boards as new members and have had to take in *people*. Some of our officials don't like the idea. They said to me, 'If you go on taking in more riffraff and rag, tag and bobtail, St. John's will be losing its character.'

" 'It might save its soul,' I put in. That didn't help any.

"Yesterday I let 'em have it. I told them the old parable about Jesus and the social undesirables—the one, you know, by Frank Harris, of all people. I said, 'This is for you. I hope you get the point.' You remember it? It goes like this:

" 'Every morning St. Peter found in heaven a horde of undesirable aliens, whom he was certain he had never admitted at the regular hours. Some had never been baptized, some were ignorant of the Bible, many were soiled and damaged souls who clearly had no right in the celestial precincts. He decided to discover just how this leakage had occurred. So in the darkness he prowled about the ramparts of heaven. At last he discovered a dark corner where a few stones had been removed from the wall since his last inspection an hour before. A crowd was stealthily creeping in. He rushed at them with indignation, but was amazed to find the Savior there, helping some of the cripples over the wall. "I'm sorry, Peter," the Lord said. "I know it's against the rules. These poor souls are not all they should be. Some were never baptized. Some of them are not quite orthodox in their opinions of me, and all of them are miserable sinners. But they are my special friends and I want them here." '

"So I think they got the point. Do you know any 'riffraff' that I might go out after?"

That's what he said.

Yours, SIMEON STYLITES.

Seventh of a Series of Eyewitness Articles on the Present Situation of the American Indian

The Cherokee Trail of Tears

By Harold E. Fey

THE BIGGEST tourist attraction in the southern Appalachian mountains is a dramatization of Cherokee Indian life called *Unto These Hills.* Each evening from late June to early September, people from many states fill an outdoor auditorium seating 2,900 to witness Kermit Hunter's historical play. In the past five years more than 750,000 have come to Cherokee, North Carolina, to see a cast of 140 actors, Indian and white, portray "the trail of tears." In the winter of 1838-39, some 16,000 Cherokees walked that trail of 1,200 miles when they were deported from the hills of their ancestral home to what is now Oklahoma. More than 4,000 died on the way. About 1,000 Cherokees hid out in the caves of the Great Smoky mountains, and their descendants now tell the tragic story of what happened only four generations ago. In this moving recital of the sufferings and heroism of their ancestors, they remind an awakening American conscience that not all the cruelties of the Indian wars were committed by the red men.

Unto These Hills is a production of the Cherokee Historical Association. The association is the most interesting of many developments on the 57,000-acre reservation which lies at the intersection of routes 19 and 441, about halfway between Asheville, North Carolina, and Knoxville, Tennessee. It is a nonprofit organization dedicated to recovering and telling the Cherokee story and to raising the standard of living of the tribe. Its chairman is Harry E. Buchanan of Hendersonville, North Carolina. Its directors include Indians and whites. Some figures will suggest the immense benefits the association has brought to the Indians and their part of the state. In five years it has paid $389,831 in salaries to Cherokees and has spent an additional $167,105 in advertising the drama and the area. Its directors have bought $27,000 worth of supplies from members of the tribe, paid $29,006 into the tribal treasury for community services, and spent $37,908 on improving community facilities for visitors. They have laid out $75,964 for educational benefits to the Cherokees and $18,777 for community development, and have put $10,990 into other construction.

Re-creating a Way of Life

One of the projects of the Cherokee Historical Association has been the creation of an authentic Indian village. There in the last two years 159,000 visitors have seen Cherokees, clothed as in the old days, making pottery, hollowing out log canoes, fashioning bows and arrows, carving wood, grinding corn and engaging in the other activities of a peaceable agricultural people. While the Oconaluftee Indian village is not as extensive a restoration as that at Williamsburg, Virginia, it provides as trustworthy a living picture of the American past. It re-creates another way of life of the same period two centuries ago and is equally necessary to an understanding of our history. C.H.A. also conducts a museum where Cherokee artifacts have been seen by 50,000 visitors since 1952.

John Parris, author of *The Cherokee Story,* says: "Of all the Indian tribes in the United States, the Cherokee are considered the most progressive and the most self-sustaining." Before the statement is disputed, note a few facts: The Eastern Band of the Cherokee, who now number around 3,500, own and operate Boundary Tree Motor Court, which consists of hotel, motel and service station. This development, worth over a half-million dollars, was studied by the Navahos before they built their first motel. The Cherokees have an Arts and Crafts Board and a cooperative sales organization which helps them realize more than $100,000 a year from handicrafts. Many Indians own and operate farms, service stations, motor courts, grocery and souvenir stores.

Each September the tribe conducts the Cherokee Indian Fair. At this harvest festival they exhibit arts and crafts, farm products and 4-H Club work, and stage Indian games and dances. Their school system has six elementary schools and one high school, fully accredited. They have 18 churches, of which 14 are Baptist, two Methodist, one Episcopal and one Roman Catholic. Their standard of living is lower than that of the rural white people among whom they live, but not much lower, and it is rising.

Historical Background

Before looking at some of the present problems of the Cherokees, one must recognize that they are a people with a record of struggle and achievement. Their fathers met Hernando de Soto in 1540 when he penetrated their lands in search of gold. At that time, these Iroquois-related people held against all challengers the area from the Ohio river deep into what is now Georgia. Later they allied themselves with the British against the French. Then they stood with the British against the colonists in the Revolution. The white man's quarrels and his diseases brought immense sorrow and an enormous shrinkage of numbers and lands. In 1784 the Cherokees were the first tribe to sign a treaty with the newly formed government of the United States. That treaty and others were broken, but these Indians refused to join Tecumseh when he sought to create an Indian alliance against the United States.

The Cherokees fought with Andrew Jackson against the Creek Indians, only to be repaid with treachery when Georgia whites sought to drive them out. Committed to peace, they carried their resistance to white encroachments to the U.S. Supreme Court and won a decision written by Chief Justice Marshall. Thereupon Jackson, then president, said: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." The die was cast: the army rounded the Cherokees up like cattle and through a bitter winter they trudged the trail of tears. Meanwhile, in the 1820s, they had known their golden age. They had prospered,

had set up representative government, had their language reduced to written form by the genius Sequoyah, published a newspaper in their own tongue. They had welcomed missionaries, some of whom suffered imprisonment for trying to defend the Indians.

The story of the Oklahoma Cherokees cannot be told here. The Eastern Band gradually emerged from the caves to rebuild their shattered lives. Their reservation was finally set at about 100 square miles, compared with the 125,000 they had once ruled. In the last couple of generations their recovery has been greatly helped by the Indian Bureau. Especially between 1945 and the end of 1954, under Superintendent Joe Jennings, a remarkable development took place. Mr. Jennings is a native of east Tennessee, and his administration aroused sympathetic assistance for the Indians from white neighbors as well as securing the Cherokees' cooperation. In addition to the creation of the Cherokee Historical Association, many other advances were made. The Cherokee health record was excelled by that of no other tribe. Their school system was geared to their needs. The Indian Service provided training in farming, homemaking and vocational skills. It set up classes for 280 of the 300 returning Eastern Cherokee soldiers from World War II and Korea. It managed forestry projects and dairy and beef herds, provided agricultural extension agents and soil conservationists, extended credit facilities.

Regained Vitality Threatened

Along with this help went civic training for Indians and the neighboring white population in all sorts of community organizations. Cherokees took part in Kiwanis, the American Legion, the Association of American University Women, the Western North Carolina Historical Association, the Southern Highlands Handicraft Guild, Boy and Girl Scouts and other groups. They organized six community associations, one of which won second place in a development contest involving 80 communities. These community associations elect members to the tribal council and carry on a vigorous life of their own. The Cherokees became a factor of consequence in North Carolina affairs; the state helped them finance their Indian village restoration and other projects to the tune of $60,000. Many white Carolinians volunteered their help in various projects. The state universities of Tennessee, Georgia and North Carolina established a permanent Tsali Institute for their benefit. The University of North Carolina also helped the Indians work out a town plan for Cherokee and an area plan for the reservation. Indians are members of a regional planning association for western North Carolina.

Then on November 12, 1954, consternation chilled the hearts of the Cherokees and their white friends. Superintendent Jennings revealed that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had informed him the office of superintendent of the Cherokee Indian Reservation had been abolished, effective December 1. Mr. Jennings was to be assigned to an assistant's job in Aberdeen, South Dakota—a post he had held many years before as a young man. The *Asheville Citizen* denounced the action as "summary," as destructive of the orderly process of transition from wardship to full participation in American life. "The Cherokee," it declared, "must not be dispatched on a second trail of tears." Civic leaders in three states, newspapers, university professors and the congressional delegation from North Carolina promptly protested to the interior department against what looked like panicky liquidation. The *Asheville Citizen* launched a campaign to try to learn what was back of the move and to preserve the gains the Cherokees had made.

More Hopes Shattered

The Jennings ouster awakened the region to the significance of earlier moves which had attracted little attention when they were taken. Two years before, police functions on the law-abiding reservation had been transferred to the state, with general approval. Then the bureau's boarding school had been closed, but this too was accepted as in accord with orderly procedure. Then there had been negotiations concerning the hospital; the Indian Bureau wanted to turn it over to somebody, and Mr. Jennings and the tribal council were negotiating with several interested groups. But now a series of moves was taken which, with the action concerning the superintendent, made many agree with the *Citizen:* "The future as it looks is unalterably dark. Liquidation apparently is to proceed with a bang, and to the echo of broken promises, and the hollow re-echo of vast uncertainties . . ."

The beef and dairy herds were put up for sale—by auction, it is now said. But some members of the community who were there all the time say they knew nothing about an auction until the cattle were sold. The feeding at noon of schoolchildren, which had been done by Cherokee women, was leased at 50 cents a meal to the Cleves Food Service of Washington, without competitive bids. It was reported that the original agreement provided that Indian children would supply part of the labor of preparing and serving, but this clause disappeared when an Indian organization heard about it and protested. Rumors circulated throughout the reservation that the Indian drivers of the school buses were to be dismissed and the transportation of pupils turned over to the lowest bidder, but this has not yet happened. The vocational education director was removed.

Awkward Questions

Public dismay expressed in repeated protests registered. The Indian Bureau sent officials to calm the fears of the community. One of these was Associate Commissioner of Indian Affairs Rex Lee, who denied that any "liquidation" of the Cherokee agency was intended. The *Citizen* asked what was Superintendent Jennings' "sin." "Did he argue too strenuously that the federal government should replace the 50-year-old firetrap schoolhouses at Cherokee before dumping the education of the Indians on North Carolina and Swain county?" Was it his efforts to transfer the hospital to some private organization which would continue to serve the Indians? Or was he working too closely with private citizens in the job-producing ventures of the Cherokee Historical Association? No answers were forthcoming, but actions were.

It became known that Mr. Jennings had been assigned to a consultative post in the Indian Bureau in Washington and not sent to South Dakota; that the bureau had reversed itself and was sending another superintendent to Cherokee. The whole series of actions was dubbed "administrative changes," not policy acts. The cattle, said the

official explanation, were sold because the boarding school had been closed; the Cleves contract was simply an experiment to be conducted until next June to see whether centralization of food services saved money. The hospital was to be turned over to the U.S. Public Health Service for a year in accordance with an action of Congress.

In March 1955 the new superintendent arrived. Richard D. Butts, one of the outstanding young men in the department, assured a special session of the Cherokee tribal council that no withdrawal of the federal government from the reservation was contemplated. A statement was read from Indian Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons. It said in part: "Somehow or other the impression has been created that we are going to abolish the agency, liquidate all our functions and programs and simply walk out on the job without so much as a by your leave. Nothing could be further from the truth." When I talked with Mr. Butts at Cherokee on May 17, he said no withdrawal or termination program has been drawn up for the reservation; that this is something that will have to be worked out gradually, in consultation with the Indians, but will not necessarily depend on their approval. He said the bureau is learning from the application of the termination legislation already in effect for the Klamath and other tribes, and is inclined to go slow. In his judgment, nothing definitive can be done at Cherokee until the tribal roll is established on a basis acceptable to the tribe and a land tenure plan adopted. He spoke with enthusiasm of the achievements of the Cherokees and of his admiration for Jarrett Blythe, their former chief, and other leaders.

Tribal Chief's Views

Osley Bird Saunooke, the present chief, an ex-wrestler who operates a trading post to supplement his salary as chief, told me: "We have plenty of termination. It is going on right now. The federal government is bound and determined to terminate." He cited the transfer of police functions, the closing of the boarding school and the question of the hospital as proof. In discussing what the tribe and the Indian Bureau together would do with the hospital, he favored having the Baptists, who have a hospital at Winston-Salem, take it over. He said the Cherokee Historical Association might be interested, but indicated he did not look with favor on this idea. He said the "working relations between the association and the tribe are not too agreeable."

According to the chief, the C.H.A. had "sandbagged" the tribal council out of $5,000, but he did not indicate what the tribe had received in return. He admitted that the C.H.A. did "afford us with quite a few measly jobs," but said it paid Indians "about half" what it pays whites. He did not mention the fact that several well known actors are employed to take roles Indians are not yet sufficiently trained to fill, although the Indians' training continues and they will in time be able to assume heavier roles, and so receive higher pay. While I was talking with the chief he disposed of two callers: a young ex-marine who had to raise money to repay the marine corps, which had overpaid him; and an old Indian woman who needed a few dollars for a dependent child she was looking after. Both were told to come back later.

The situation at Cherokee poses as many questions for the observing visitor as it does for the Indians. Is there no way to prevent petty differences and self-interest from endangering creative projects like the Cherokee Historical Association, which depend on good will and cooperation? Can the Indian Bureau rebuild the confidence it demolished by its sudden move toward termination and the manner of its retreat? If the Southern Baptists take over the hospital, do they have it in them to make it a community institution, strengthening the tribal life the Cherokees are trying so hard to maintain, or will they make it sectarian? Will it be racially inclusive? (One of the first decisions of the tribe when the outdoor theater for *Unto These Hills* was built was that no racial discrimination should be permitted at performances.) If the Indian Bureau does not have a program for gradual transfer of facilities and responsibilities, how can it improve on the program which the Cherokee tribal council adopted in March of this year?

Program for the Future

That program is: (1) Ask Congress to authorize revision of the tribal roll, which has not been brought up to date in 31 years. (2) Make a land survey and register the Indians' "possessory rights." (3) Maintain an adequate health program including hospital facilities for all members of the tribe. (4) Upgrade and properly house the schools and turn them over to North Carolina. (5) Set up a plan to bring industrial enterprises to the reservation. (6) Improve housing standards, since most Indians live in one- or two-room houses. (7) Conserve forests, soil, game and fish.

At the meeting where this program was adopted, Chief Saunooke was reported as saying that "it was his desire to cooperate and work with any organization or association that is interested in the Cherokee, and he specifically singled out the Cherokee Historical Association, which since 1950 has sponsored the drama *Unto These Hills* and whose surplus funds have been turned into projects beneficial to the Cherokee." It may be hoped these are his real views, and not those he expressed to me two months later.

The entire series of which this article is a part will be reprinted in pamphlet form as supplementary material bearing on the home missions study topic for Protestant churches next fall. Final article in the series will appear in a coming issue.

Why So Afraid?

WHY am I so afraid
To let God speak?
He will want me to discard
All rubbish from my life,
The dear, accumulated rubbish
That I love so much.
He will clean me out,
Down to the bare essentials of my being.
I am afraid,
Afraid of the nakedness that I will feel.

MYRA SCOVEL.

Our Gravest Heresy

By Henry P. Van Dusen

THE PROVOCATIVE TITLE of James E. Wagner's article in The Christian Century for February 2, "I'm Weary of Verbal Repentance," must have stirred in many a repentance-jaded ecumenical soul a fervent if unuttered "Amen, brother!" It voices the deep misgiving of not a few ordinary Christians who feel in their bones that there is something just a little unreal if not actually insincere in this "much speaking" of repentance without any parallel "amendment of life" which is supposed to accompany or follow true repentance. Here, as so often, the spontaneous judgment, springing from intuition and common sense, of the Christian who may lack the wit or the scholarly knowledge or just the inclination to justify his misgivings by profound reasoning, may be sounder than the dogmas of the authorities buttressed by the most impressive theological argumentation.

What distresses Dr. Wagner is reiterated confessions of contrition over "our unhappy divisions," matched by so little concrete action to heal those divisions. But his protest deserves a wider reference. It points to what I believe to be the gravest heresy widely prevalent in ecumenical circles, far more culpable than alleged errors in christological or eschatological or ecclesiological understanding—the heresy that there is some peculiar virtue in profession without practice, in contrition unaccompanied by resolute and specific endeavor to remedy the occasions for contrition.

Denounced by Christ

This heresy flaunts the most explicit and categorical denunciation of Christ himself. More than that, it defies a profound psychological truth, which is to say a law of God with respect to the nature of man, namely, that repetitious repentance for a state of sin without determined effort to rectify the sin is not only palpably insincere ("rationalization" in the current psychological jargon); it may, and often does, actually so accustom the soul to admitting the state that it comes to be accepted with pious complacency.

This heresy is deeply rooted in much orthodox Christian theology. It is unwittingly nurtured by much traditional liturgical practice, to which ecumenical worship is increasingly becoming accommodated. Is it mere coincidence that those branches of Christendom which cherish most sacredly sweeping liturgical declarations of penitence, and reiterate them most frequently, have been notably deficient both in acute ethical sensitivity and in costly, sacrificial action for ethical fulfillment?

Take, for instance, the General Confession. Is it possible for the sincere mind to repeat those majestic, awesome affirmations—"I have left undone that which I should have done. I have done that which I should not have done. *There is no health in me*"—over and over again, once a week, once a day, several times a day, without the words tending to be washed of all specific meaning and the exercise becoming hardly more than a repetition of rote, a general acknowledgment of general deficiency: "Sorry, Lord. I'm still sinning," like a Roman Catholic peasant's repetition of "Hail Marys"? And what about the petition to which the General Confession reaches as climax: "That I may *hereafter* lead a godly, righteous and sober life"? Can one utter that petition, if it is just a repetition of what one has asked a few hours or the day before, with any real meaning beyond a vague, pious hope of being better? A sound psychology might prohibit the General Confession from being spoken by a devout worshiper more often than once a month or once a quarter.

Why Not a Prayer Moratorium?

Dr. Wagner is particularly troubled by all this repentance over "our unhappy divisions." I have sometimes thought that the most constructive possible step toward the achievement of church union might be a resolution by the Lambeth Conference and the parallel world bodies of the other communions, proposing a moratorium on the use of the mighty "Prayer for the Unity of Christ's Church" for a period of a year or a decade. Then we might come to recognize how unreal is our present frequent reiteration with such meager effort to do anything fundamental or significant about these "unhappy divisions" which we so readily, so glibly bewail.

Moreover, this heresy flies in the face of one of the most frequently reiterated, most unchallengeably authentic, most central and basic insistences in the teaching of Jesus Christ. His most scathing denunciations were reserved for precisely this type of piety—praying without doing. Over and over again, in direct injunction, in parable, in measured rebuke, he exposes the fundamental unreality and insincerity of devout profession without determined practice: "Not every one who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven, but he who does the will of my Father in heaven."

Forgiveness

Consider this issue at its most sensitive and central point: forgiveness. There is a dictum of Christian theology that the divine forgiveness is unlimited, unmerited and unconditioned. Unlimited and unmerited it certainly is. But not unconditioned. No assumption could more directly and categorically contradict the explicit, repeated, unqualified insistence of Jesus: God's forgiveness of us is conditioned upon our forgiveness of and by one another. There can be no challenge to the authenticity of this insistence as that of Jesus himself, even by the most radical New Testament critics. It appears independently in every single one of our "sources"—not simply in each of the Synoptic Gospels, but in each of the earlier strata of material which lie behind them, in Mark and "Q" and "M" and "I." It is affirmed in the indissoluble interlocking of forgiveness of us by God and forgiveness by us of others in the Lord's Prayer ("Q"); is made even more explicit in the addendum from Mark: "If you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses." It is underscored in the response to Peter's calculating inquiry, "Lord,

how often shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him?" "Not seven times but seventy times seven" ("Q"), and then driven home in "M's" report of the story of the merciless creditor.

Possibly the most testing teaching on the necessity of human reconciliation as prerequisite to true worship is the injunction, "If you are on your way to the altar and recall that your brother has anything against you, leave your gift, first go and be reconciled with your brother, and then bring your gift to the altar." (If we were to make even a feeble pretense of practicing *that* injunction, how emptied would be our church-pews Sunday mornings! And how real the worship of those who, having observed Jesus' precondition, came!) While the Johannine writer speaks of love rather than forgiveness, he sets forth inescapably the logic which undergirds all this teaching to the same effect from so many varied sources: "If you love not your brother whom you have seen, how can you love God whom you have not seen?"

The Authentic Jesus

The most earnest and determined effort toward reconciliation with one's fellow men is "the indispensable prerequisite to divine forgiveness." There is no single element in the thought of Jesus—save his unfailing reference to God as "Father" and his proclamation of the Kingdom of God—of which we may be quite so certain that it is authentically his. Jesus' teaching in this whole matter has been set forth with unanswerable clarity by my old teacher, H. R. Mackintosh, a conservative traditionalist in theology, in the noblest and most authoritative examination of forgiveness written in our day, *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*. An exacting requirement, indeed. Subject to all manner of moralistic perversion, to be sure. And balanced by the complementary recognition that we are enabled to forgive because we know ourselves forgiven, just as "we love because He first loved us." Yet it is not difficult to understand *why* this must be so. For two reasons, at least. How shall we comprehend what it means to be forgiven by God unless we have learned through our human experience of forgiving and being forgiven? And how *can* God forgive us until we have exhausted every avenue to right our strained relationships with his other children?

'I—Thou—They'

Too demanding a condition for Christians to face and accept? And so they have consistently turned deaf ears to their Lord's clear teaching, and have declared that the divine forgiveness is unconditioned, when by the very nature of human life within the family of his children it cannot be so. We have delighted to portray forgiveness within an exclusively vertical dimension, and to set up an abstract "I-Thou" relationship, when in the thought of Jesus the "I-Thou" relationship is unfailingly set within the larger context of the "I-Thou-They" relationship.

So, likewise, in our fragmentation of Christ's Body, we comfort our accused consciences by the all too easy affirmation of repentance and, repenting without amendment of life, unconsciously lull ourselves into acceptance of our familiar state. Across most talk about church union and, above all, across most protestations of contrition for "our unhappy divisions," rings Christ's burning, devastating rebuke: "Why call me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not what I say?"

BOOKS

Wilderness Leader

BLACK MOSES. *By Edmund David Cronon. University of Wisconsin Press, $5.00.*

BLACK MOSES is the first full-length, objective book about the fabulous Jamaica-born Negro Marcus Garvey, who, three decades ago, created a hectic and significant stir on the American scene. Author Cronon, a professor at Yale University, places us all in his debt with an interesting and serious portrayal of a Negro leader who was at one and the same time perhaps the most controversial, loved, mocked and criticized personality of the turbulent twenties. Garvey's meteoric rise to fame from his obscure landing in New York in 1916 was a sensation. From 1920 to 1925 he was undoubtedly the most talked of and widest known of Negro leaders.

To many Negroes and some whites, Marcus Garvey was a demagogue, to others a naive and misguided zealot, to still others a fool and egotist, and to not a few a successful self-seeking con man. But to thousands of his loyal followers, whom he could discipline with his great gift for oratory, he was a dedicated prophet come to lead them out of the wilderness of suffering, prejudice and frustration into the promised land of self-respect, hope and economic security. Never before his time or since has any Negro been able to build so large and devoted a following or to raise as much financial support for it. Prof. Cronon's well documented but readable account leaves no doubt that Marcus Garvey was so sure of his prophetic role that neither the bars of the federal prison at Atlanta, the miserable fiasco of the Black Star Line, the embittered and unyielding criticism and scorn of the Negro intelligentsia, the faithless double-dealing of some of his most trusted lieutenants, nor even the final act of deportation in 1927 ever shook the faith he had in himself.

Garvey died in London in 1940, and his once powerful United Negro Improvement Association, which embraced thousands of Negroes in Central America and the West Indies, was to all intents and purposes buried a few years after his demise. The movement was too largely a projection of Garvey's own personality to last. But he has not been forgotten and is still a topic of serious conversation and not infrequently lively argument when the problems of Negro leadership in America are under discussion. Even his bitter enemies and those who honestly differed with him agree that although he was often naive, at times foolish, and a man who loved display, he was nevertheless a man of deep sincerity according to his lights and of great personal integrity.

A prophet may be without honor in his own home, but every prophet is in part a product of the spiritual, moral and social environment of his home. Indeed a prophet is never possible apart from a complexity of circumstances which calls him forth. Marcus Garvey captured the imagination of thousands because he personified the possibility of the fulfillment of a dream latent in the heart of every Negro. I remember as a lad in Cleveland, Ohio, during the hungry days of 1921, standing on Central avenue watching a parade one Sunday afternoon when thousands of Garvey's legionaries, resplendent in their uniforms, marched by. When Garvey rode by in his plumed hat, I got an emotional lift which swept me up above the poverty and the prejudice by which my life was limited.

The author places Garvey within the

context of the economic, political and sociological frustration of the American Negro, whose dilemma was most perplexing at the close of World War II. It was the failure of American democracy, for which many Negroes had also fought and died in World War I, that made Marcus Garvey possible. The Klan was riding in unchecked terror through the south and the border states, mob violence and race riots had reached their greatest height throughout the nation. Negroes were the first and hardest-hit victims of economic depression, and unhappily there was as yet no substantial group of white Americans who stood up for justice for Negroes in labor, education, housing, civil rights, religion and government. The combination of these factors conspired to create a situation of despair into which Marcus Garvey stepped as a prophet. Prof. Cronon's picture of the period is accurate, sympathetic and revealing.

The author deals at some length with Garvey's place in history. No tangible evidence of his unparalleled ability as a propagandist and organizer is left, but Cronon believes that Garvey, perhaps more than anyone else, stimulated Negroes to self-respect and pride in race, and helped to make them aware of the necessity of doing some things for themselves. There will be many who will challenge this thesis, but I believe it has validity.

JAMES H. ROBINSON.

Nature, Man—and God?

STUDIES IN ZEN. *By Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Philosophical Library, $4.75.*

EDITOR Christmas Humphreys has brought together seven articles and lectures by the professor of Buddhist philosophy in the Otani University, Kyoto. The first essay covers concisely the history of the Zen sect, tracing the tradition back to a special transmission from the Buddha himself and outlining its development in China and Japan. The second study is a commentary on the well known summary of Zen teaching:

> A special transmission outside the Scriptures,
> Not depending upon the letter,
> But pointing directly to the Mind,
> And leading us to see into the Nature itself, thereby making us attain Buddhahood.

Also included are the papers read by Prof. Suzuki at the 1939 and 1951 East-West Philosophers' conferences, which have been accessible in volumes edited by Charles A. Moore. These are illuminating analyses of Zen-experience and of reason and intuition in Zen. Three recent essays, including an important study of "The Role of Nature in Zen Buddhism," complete the volume, which unites in brief compass essential historical data, quotations from the Zen masters and authoritative interpretation. It will be useful both to the beginner in Zen philosophy and to the scholar who desires to add Suzuki's recent essays to his shelf of books by this foremost interpreter of Zen.

Familiar with Western as well as Eastern thought, Prof. Suzuki makes the distinctive nature of Zen evident. It is not a philosophy, for it has no thought-system of its own, and it goes beyond logic and conceptual experience. It is not a religious faith, having no dogma or creed or object of worship. It appeals first of all neither to reason nor to divine revelation. It recognizes nothing from which we are to be saved. It is not mysticism, if mysticism means escape from this world to a transcendental world. Zen is an intuitive approach to nature, in which "what is seen and the one who sees are identical." The Zen master cannot put Zen-experience into words, and must awaken his disciple to his own "synthetic apprehension of the whole."

From the standpoint of Christian thought and of Western philosophy today, the essay "The Role of Nature in Zen Buddhism" is especially significant. Suzuki traces the Western "Nature-Man dichotomy" to the biblical account in which the Creator is said to have given man power to dominate all creation, and holds that this doctrine is "the real beginning of human tragedy." The result is separateness of nature and man—expressed in contemporary terms in the existentialist contrast between the *pour-soi* and the *en-soi* and in irreconcilable and destructive conflict. Zen seeks to transcend all forms of dichotomy, and leads to a consciousness of fundamental identity: "I am in Nature and Nature is in me." While the manyness of things is not ignored, "there is perfect identity of Man and Nature, of God and Nature." Our inner life, Suzuki writes, "is complete when it merges into Nature and becomes one with it." Nature is "no more something to be conquered and subdued. It is the bosom whence we come and whither we go."

Suzuki raises fundamental questions about our present Western emphasis on the domination of nature to the exclusion of other relationships to it. But he overlooks the positive valuation of nature implicit in the conception of it as God's creation and therefore good. The doctrine of creation offers a basis for avoiding both the position which sees man as engaged in an irreconcilable struggle against nature and the identification of nature and man and God to which Zen Buddhism leads.

C. EUGENE CONOVER.

Church and Clinic

RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN MENTAL ILLNESS. *By Wayne E. Oates. Association Press, $3.50.*

IN the crisis of specialism which fragments our community of knowledge, there is urgent need for bridges of understanding across the ravines that separate the various sciences from each other and from the value-systems of religion. There is fortunately a growing sense of need among many professions to integrate separate vocabularies and ideologies into a common language which will permit better communication. Declarations of unity have been raised on many frontiers, and heartening steps have been taken by psychiatrists and exponents of religion to move toward each other.

This book by Wayne Oates, of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., is another useful bridge, well constructed and urgently needed, for the purpose of truer understanding and co-operation. The study is founded at one abutment on ten years of religious ministry to mental patients in collaboration with the staff of psychiatric hospitals, and at the other abutment on as many years of theological scholarship and teaching of pastoral psychology to young ministers.

No one is more isolated than a psychotic person who is locked in seclusion first by his own distress in disturbed relationships, and then by society which commits him to an institution where he will be "safe." Yet every hospital aims to be a therapeutic community, to surround the sufferer with considerate and compassionate healing attentions. Among these helpers the pastor has come to offer his faithful care and stand by the sufferer in his search for a way to saving perspective. In this earnest mood of concern Oates has come among the mentally ill, and seeking to understand them and their physicians he now offers a measure of this perception to other persons who share the concern.

His purposes in this work are three: (1) to interpret the religion of the mentally ill from the patient's point of view; (2) to encourage understanding and communication among ministers, psychiatrists and social workers on patient care; and (3) to contribute to psychological understanding of religion. It is not his intention to make a case for religion against psychiatry, but to join with the scientists in openly exploring the meaning of religion to the mentally ill. There is a disarming frankness about his consideration of the helping and hindering forces in religion. He shows how religion may be used for self-deception and yet in healthier moods may become a revelatory self-encounter. He shows how a religious culture may contribute to the making or breaking of personality through its interpersonal relatedness in wrestling with hostility or dependence or withdrawal and despair.

The positive work of religion is also investigated in the therapy of mental illness, at points of diagnosis, referral and treatment. Various psychiatric approaches to religious experience are considered as well as the approach of ministers to the religion of the mentally ill. Further analysis is given to therapeutic problems in the characteristic religious attitudes of mental patients, and to the value of a religious perspective for the psychotherapist.

Appropriately, the book is dedicated to Anton T. Boisen, creative pioneer in the discovery of religious meaning in mental illness and also in the development of a pastoral ministry in mental hospitals. Another significant milestone along this frontier is the present work of Wayne Oates.

PAUL E. JOHNSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

Typographical Error

SIR: I am sorry to report that there was a misprint in the *China Bulletin* from which you quoted in your May 11 issue. The statement should have been: "Not more than 15 or 20 per cent are working with the Taiwan Presbyterian Church." The omission of the per cent sign, on a total of 350, makes the situation much worse than it really is, although even then it is bad enough. FRANCIS P. JONES.

Drew Theological Seminary,
Madison, N. J.

Guaranteed Wage

SIR: As is the case in most proposals for change in existing patterns of economic life, the present drive for the guaranteed annual wage is meeting opposition from many sources because of misunderstanding and misinformation. As Christian laymen, we should study all the factors concerned before either opposing or supporting new ideas, or, as in this case, old ideas with some new applications.

In your March 16 issue appeared a letter from Thomas J. Kelso, stating his objections to such a program in such a manner as to cause this reader to feel certain misunderstandings should be rectified.

The guaranteed annual wage is not a new device or "gimmick" designed to result only in "added security," which would, however, be one result. The first plans were inaugurated in the 1890s in America in the wallpaper industry, machine printers, textile finisher and other firms. Many plans are in existence today in such firms as Procter & Gamble Co., George A. Hormel & Co. and the Nunn-Bush Co. The idea is not a new one.

In 1932 the very first state unemployment compensation law was passed in Wisconsin. This law provided that those firms that guaranteed their employees at least 42 36-hour weeks of employment would be exempt from the law. Ninety-six firms instituted G.A.W. plans. However, in 1935 the federal Social Security act became law and did not provide exemptions for firms guaranteeing annual wages. All 96 firms discontinued their plans.

In 1944 the National War Labor Board recommended that an independent commission be appointed by the President to study the question of the guaranteed annual wage. Such a study was made and the report to the President stated that guaranteed annual wage plans, if properly financed and with proper safeguards, would be beneficial to the economy.

The G.A.W. plan, as sought by the U.A.W.-C.I.O., is designed more to guarantee employment than to guarantee wages. A stabilized auto industry would certainly tend to stabilize the economy of our nation.

People in the entertainment, sports and other allied fields have guaranteed pay. Management is hired by the year rather than by the hour. Even the President of the United States has a guaranteed annual wage along with all the senators, representatives and other employees of the people serving in elective positions. Schoolteachers are hired under yearly contracts. The list of people now enjoying the guaranteed annual wage is almost beyond belief.

As to who pays the bill, the employees do, of course. In negotiations, those representing the employees ask for a proper share of the profits of the business for the workers who make the products. Sometimes this request is in the form of increases in hourly rate and sometimes in the form of other benefits such as the guaranteed wage.

The establishment of the guaranteed annual wage is an endeavor to implement the fulfillment of the stated position of our government in the Full Employment act of 1947, which states that it is the duty of our government to maintain maximum production, employment and purchasing power. It is an attempt to translate our great productive genius into the practical needs of all Americans and all people of all nations. DALLAS SELLS.

First Baptist Church,
Anderson, Ind.

'Right to Work' Laws

SIR: Clair M. Cook's article, "Those 'Right-to-Work' Laws" (May 4), makes me doubly irked. First, because of my anger at him because he has a group of concepts that have completely reversed some of our basic American rights. Second, because of my anger at myself in my inability to refute his logic in terms that he will accept.

He might be right in showing that these laws are not what they are claimed to be and that they have results well beyond their claims. His debate should be whether or not there are workmen whose life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are impaired because their livelihood is controlled by organized labor and whether or not "those 'right-to-work' laws" are a corrective to that injustice. I will leave the second theorem entirely in Mr. Cook's hands if he will allow me some comment on the first.

The principles central to my position will not apply to a golf course either, for my illustrations are about real people whose work is their living.

A large and famous restaurant chain is at present being picketed in an organization effort by a service employee's union. This chain has been as honest and forward in their employee-relations as they have been in building up their clientele. Above everything they have established the personal dignity of each employee through their nontipping policy. Must I, as a labor-conscious clergyman, refuse to cross this picket line when I know that none of the pickets are employees? Must this employee-management relationship be bulldozed into a union contract against its will and must those employees submit to a small group which has established its vested interest through the laws of our government?

A large and internationally famous union, whose fame is based on its being known as one of the "better" unions, has a local in a heavy industry that voted union shop on the strength of this international's good name. Since then a small clique in this local has made a collusive arrangement with management to protect policy and horse bets. This collusive arrangement moved into the entire field of management-union relations. By this arrangement a great number of employees have been removed from their jobs (for Mr. Cook's special interest, this included two clergymen), and there have been three union elections stolen with management support. The mass of the rank-and-file have appealed through representatives to both the international convention and the international president and did not gain any consideration.

Can Mr. Cook explain to these leaders of the rank-and-file just how they can be Houdinis and get out of this strait jacket? Open membership would have kept this from happening.

A member of a building trades union has the pride of belonging to a union-labor tradition that goes back before Carpenters' Hall in our American history. Do his rights as a journeyman include the right to starve while two other unions argue on who should lie on the "featherbed" while the other works?

Mr. Cook's thesis is based on the theorem that labor has earned and has a rightful vested interest in all the protections they have been given by law. Labor's only right is a stewardship to manage those relations between worker and employee that management lost by default. It does not follow logically that these relations are lost to management forever, or that all management, all workmen should suffer because of sins of omission in the past.

Mr. Cook and all other labor leaders who use his argument against "free-riders" are begging the question. This government requirement to represent all employees is in the law at specific union request. Only by their protection of all can they protect their own interests.

DAVID BURSON BOYLAN.

Newark, Del.

Enough's Enough

SIR: My subscription has expired. Please expire it, after 25 years. Your editorial "Preaching: Hodgepodge or the Gospel?" (April 27) is enough. It is hodgepodge.

Alhambra, Calif. H. M. CALLECOD.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Presbyterians, U.S.A., Favor Women Ministers; Retain Hope for Union

Annual General Assembly in Los Angeles Passes on to Presbyteries Three Proposals for Change in Constitutional Form of Government—Enthusiastic Evangelism Conference Precedes Sessions

Los Angeles, May 25.—The 167th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., wound up its proceedings at First Methodist Church here this morning by adopting the report of its social education and action committee and authorizing an expenditure for new church construction 1957-64 of $5.5 million. The $5.5 million will be in addition to the sums raised in the recent building fund campaign.

Highlights of the social action report were declarations that all sections of the church have a right and a duty to study and discuss social issues which may be called "controversial," and, at the assembly level, to arrive at group decisions as to Christian positions on those issues; and that while Christians should look on service within a political party as an opportunity to witness and work for good government, they can never give uncritical support to everything a party stands for ("the greatest danger in politics is idolatry").

In adopting the report the delegates further warned members against "malicious" attacks on the United Nations, supported the government's willingness to engage in direct negotiations with Communist China to effect a cease-fire in the Formosa straits and endorsed the proposal for a meeting "at the summit," urged caution in political and military statements regarding the use of nuclear weapons, insisted that foreign aid programs be not cut down so long as they minister to human need, reaffirmed previous opposition to peacetime conscription and universal military training, and called on the churches to be "zealous" in protecting rights and freedoms "promised by our religious and political heritages."

'Operation Desegregation'

An emphasis in the board's report was repeated in several other committee reports. It was entitled "operation desegregation," and called for cooperation to achieve the "inclusive membership" called for by the General Council. A special committee on segregated synods reported that in Oklahoma an Indian, a Negro and a white synod have been abolished and now operate as one. A Welsh synod likewise was dissolved here, and the churches in it related to the presbyteries in their geographical area. The division of social education and action asked that the "inclusive" principle be applied to local church organizations, sessions, church boards, employed staff, volunteer leadership, church-controlled and church-related hospitals, homes for the aged and homes for children.

During the sessions the assembly approved recommendations of three special committees calling for changes in the church's form of government. The first, permitting women to be ordained to the gospel ministry, provoked brief debate but wide press attention. The committee presenting the resolution reported it had studied in detail the "biblical, theological and sociological issues" involved, and found that the Bible "neither provides specific direction for nor prohibits the ordination of women"; therefore, it concluded, there is no theological ground for denying ordination to women simply because they are women. Surprisingly, opposition to the resolution came from younger men; one asserted that "too often when women have felt the call to be bishops it has led to cults and heresies." The strong affirmative vote indicated that the committee's careful and thoughtful presentation left little room for argument in the minds of most commissioners. The last time such an overture was introduced, in 1946, it was defeated in the presbyteries 128-100.

Women have been ordained as elders in this church since 1930. Recognition of their increased importance in the church is further underscored by approval of an overture amending the constitution to provide for additional women on the General Council, which carries on between annual assemblies.

Ordination Procedures Changed

Another constitutional change is designed to stiffen and regularize procedures for ordination and examination of ministerial candidates. Under present procedures a candidate must be licensed before he is ordained, and before being licensed must undergo examination by his presbytery, usually before he has completed his theological education and again just before ordination. The new proposal would eliminate licensure and its examination.

The third proposed change in the constitution would make explicit the superior authority of the local church session over the boards of trustees and deacons. (Ambiguous language has hitherto resulted in misunderstandings.) The proposals also serve to dignify and strengthen the work of deacons and make mandatory, "with possible exceptions for small or newly organized churches," a rotary system of electing officers.

In his report of the church's permanent commission on interchurch relations, Ralph Waldo Lloyd, retiring moderator and longtime chairman of the commission, presented as fraternal delegates Moderator Wade H. Boggs of the Presbyterian, U.S., General Assembly and James K. Stewart, vice-moderator of the United Presbyterian assembly. Dr. Boggs was heartily cheered when he said that many of his church's leaders "look forward to the day when we shall be one in spirit, certainly, but also one in name." Dr. Stewart asked the Presbyterians, U.S.A., to continue to "keep your door ajar." The commission reported that it is ready to enter into a discussion of a two-way union with the United Presbyterian Church whenever that body wishes.

On the Marian Year

As part of its report the commission presented a paper prepared by Pres. John A. Mackay holding that the Roman Catholic Church's Marian cult constitutes a challenge to all evangelical Christians.

(Continued on page 695)

Near East Council Meets

Christians Discuss Witness in Muslim Lands, Urge Aid to Refugees

Beirut, Lebanon, May 11.—This city at the far end of the Mediterranean has been host in recent weeks to several gatherings of significance to the Christian world. Highly important was the three-day meeting of the Near East Christian Council, founded 30 years ago for missionary cooperation in the vast area from Morocco to Iran and from Turkey to the Sudan. One evening was devoted to five-minute presentations by a panel of 12 speakers who told of the Christian witness in their respective countries, all of them predominately Muslim with the exception of Lebanon, where Christianity holds a slight but dubious majority. Among the most optimistic statements was that concerning advances and prospects in Iran. The conference issued a strong pronouncement on the festering Arab-Israeli problem, reminding the United Nations and the great powers that some measure of justice is required for the 850,000 Palestinian refugees before peace can be expected in this tension area. While 200,000 victims of this seven-year-old tragedy are still in the miserable camps of Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, it is reported that thousands of others supposedly "settled" live under conditions equally bad, with scant rations and dwindling resources.

Ancient Churches Represented

While the indigenous Evangelical churches have in recent years joined in activities of the Near East Christian Council, fresh overtures are being made to bring the ancient churches into the organization. Accordingly, Bishop Cyrus Yakoub of the Syrian Orthodox Church made a fraternal appearance on the conference program. W. A. Visser 't Hooft of the World Council of Churches and Glora Wysner of the International Missionary Council represented their organizations. Harry Dorman of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., mission in Lebanon was elected executive secretary of the council.

Near East Youth Assembly 'Truly Ecumenical'

Two weeks earlier the youth department of the World Council of Churches sponsored a highly successful conference here

By LANCE WEBB

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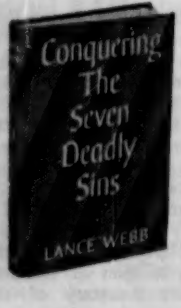

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of Christian youth leaders from the eastern Mediterranean area. For eight days representatives of the various Orthodox bodies (Eastern, Coptic, Ethiopian, Syrian and Armenian) shared in Bible study, program consultations and reports with leaders from the younger churches. It was discovered that the time is definitely past when Sunday schools, youth centers and Christian literature belong exclusively to the Evangelical groups. "There are signs of a remarkable renewal in the life of the old churches, particularly among the youth," said Dr. Visser 't Hooft, who declared that this small meeting was more truly ecumenical than any other held so far in the Near East. Plans for the consultation were laid by Bengt-Thure Molander and William Perkins of the World Council's youth department staff in Geneva. Archimandrite I. Hazim, who sparks the work among the youth of the Greek Orthodox communion and is chairman of the Christian Youth Federation of Syria and Lebanon, was host to the conference in the College of the Annunciation, of which he is principal.

American University Host to Physicians

Late in April the fifth Middle East Medical Assembly drew 700 physicians and medical workers from 14 countries to the campus of the American University of Beirut. Among the 30 speakers, mostly from England and the United States, were Dr. Sara Jordan of Lahey Clinic in Boston, Dr. Frank Berry of Columbia University and Dr. Mildred Creak and Lord Feversham of London. The program was dedicated to Sir Alexander Fleming, discoverer of penicillin who died suddenly March 11. He was to have been a participant in the assembly.

And So Forth

Six hundred women gathered April 27 in one of Beirut's leading hotels to celebrate the centennial of the Y.W.C.A. The occasion was graced by the presence of Lebanon's first lady, Camille Chamoun. For the past 30 years the Y.W.C.A. has carried on an extensive vocational and recreational program in rented quarters here. It is now in search of a site for a building of its own.

The women's international fellowship team on its global tour spent four days in Syria and Lebanon. Mrs. James D. Wyker, president of United Church Women in the United States, and Mrs. David D. Baker, editor of the *Church Woman*, gave the principal addresses at a public meeting here which drew people from the Arabic, Armenian, Anglican and American congregations.

Thus far only 43 American visas have been issued to Palestinians from this area under the U.S. Refugee Relief act of 1953, which opens the way for 2,000 refugees from the Near East as soon as assurances can be secured from U.S. sponsors.

DEWEY EDER.

Order Liquor Ads From Buses

Protests from Protestant and temperance groups have resulted in an order by the Minnesota liquor control commission banning liquor ads from the sides of buses in the Twin Cities.

Spurn Probation Officers' Quota

American Jewish Congress Objects to Religious Basis for Assignment—Episcopalian 'No' to Women

NEW YORK, May 25.—The American Jewish Congress has released a hitherto secret advisory opinion of the New York state probation commission unanimously disapproving the religious quota system used in selecting probation officers for children's courts in New York city. Present practice is to assign probation officers of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths in proportion to the number of children of each faith brought before the courts. Of 10,899 new cases filed in the courts in the past year, 50 per cent were Catholic, 45 per cent Protestant and 5 per cent Jewish. About the same religious proportions were represented, therefore, among probation officers, according to Justice John Warren Hill of domestic relations court, which has jurisdiction over children's courts.

Should Ability, Not Religion, Govern Appointments?

The commission's opinion was handed down in response to a complaint filed by the American Jewish Congress Jan. 24. The complaint charged that the quota system violates the state law against racial and religious discrimination in employment. Leonard Probst, vice-chairman of the commission, stated that release of the opinion was unauthorized and unfortunate, but said that the commission believes that ability, not religion, should govern appointments. He announced that "in a month or two" the commission expects to give an opinion on whether Justice Hill is right in holding that a statute requires that children be assigned to a probation officer of the same religion. If Justice Hill does not abide by the commission's decision, he said, the congress will have to pursue its complaint with the state commission against discrimination.

N.C.C. Headquarters Ready in Two Years

The new $14 million National Council of Churches headquarters building to be erected on a site overlooking the Hudson river near Riverside Church [see The Christian Century for June 1, p. 644] is expected to be completed within two years. It will offer 544,000 square feet of floor space on its 14 regular floors. The site, now occupied by tennis courts, was donated by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Half the cost of construction will be covered by a 21½-year amortization mortgage, according to Edmund F. Wagner, treasurer of the United Lutheran Church and president of the board formed to supervise the center. "We hope and believe that at least 25 per cent of the total will come from gifts, and another 25 per cent [from] investing beneficiary groups," Mr. Wagner says. The National Council and the American Baptist Convention Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board will invest $600,000 each in the enterprise. The United Lutheran Church and the Presby-

terian, U.S.A., boards of foreign and national missions have each authorized an investment of $300,000. Roy G. Ross, general secretary of the N.C.C. and a trustee of the center, declined to say what denominational organizations will occupy the new building, or what will be the probable effect on the council's program of its location on the periphery of Manhattan, 30 minutes from midtown railway stations, hotels, radio and television studios and present denominational headquarters.

New York Episcopalians Turn Down Women

At its recent 174th convention here, the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York adopted a proposal made by Bishop Horace W. B. Donegan that proportionate giving be made the minimum basis for stewardship in the churches of the diocese. Later the bishop told this reporter: "This system is advisable not only for increasing the financial resources of the church but for deepening its spiritual life." He said that every diocese which has adopted the principle has experienced these benefits. After a sharp floor fight, the delegates voted 234-189 to continue to deny women the right to serve on parish vestries or to attend the annual diocesan convention as delegates. A motion to permit them to do so had been introduced by the diocese's department of Christian relations and supported by Bishop Donegan in his episcopal address. Opponents voiced fears that once in office, "like the camel's nose in the tent, women will before long be priests." The fight for the measure was led by Justice Hubert T. Delaney of domestic relations court, who urged his fellow delegates to "consider women as first-class citizens." He pointed out that no theological arguments could be cited against the proposal, and insisted that when it comes to such ethical and spiritual matters as the measure embodies the church should be in the forefront, not dragging along after secular agencies. Answering the argument of another delegate that women do not want the vote, Justice Delaney appealed to women visitors in the balcony for a show of hands. But he was gaveled down by the chairman and ruled out of order.

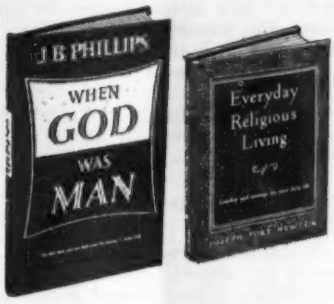
Anticomics Bill Becomes Law

Gov. Averell Harriman has signed a bill banning the sale in New York state to youths under 18 of any comic book dealing with crime, horror, sex and brutality. The bill had been adopted unanimously in the house and with one dissenting vote in the senate. It was supported by the state council of churches. The new law carries penalties of a $500 fine, a year in prison or both to persons who sell, show or lend such publications to minors. Thomas E. Dewey vetoed similar bills during his terms as governor on the ground that they were unconstitutional.

Declare Religion Requires Sharing of Abundance

Eighty-two religious leaders—Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish—have joined in signing an appeal for a crusade among all Americans to "meet the world's material needs." The appeal, prepared by Msgr. Luigi G. Ligutti, director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference,

Devotional Books for Vacation Reading



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declares that to promote progress and peace, America must share her abundance more largely than she is now doing. It also calls for an "expanding peacetime economy and equitable distribution of the national product." In a moral universe, the appeal asserts, the continued prosperity of one nation can be justified only by its courageous efforts to make similar abundance available to all nations. "It is contrary to the will of God that islands of prosperity should persist among oceans of poverty, hunger and distress," say the signers.

Urges Church Concern With Alcoholism

Neither the Protestant churches nor psychiatry are showing enough concern for the nation's greatest mental health problem—its 5 million alcoholics. So Karl Menninger, director of the Menninger School of Psychiatry at Topeka, Kan., told the clergymen and laymen attending the annual meeting here of the National Council of Churches' department of pastoral services. Dr. Menninger warned against the tendency to regard psychiatry as a cure-all for alcoholism. It can help, and so can Alcoholics Anonymous, he said, but neither can solve the problem by itself. The churches are one of the most important places the alcoholic can turn to for help, Dr. Menninger believes. "The churches and psychiatry must carry the responsibility for working out the best method of dealing with the problem," he said.

And So Forth

Declaring that U.S. support of the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Program is a means of "giving substance to our nation's deep religious roots," Christian Action, interdenominational Protestant social action group, has urged Congress to appropriate $25 million to continue the agency's program.

Bishop Fulton J. Sheen has shifted his weekly television program from the DuMont network, where it was founded, to the American Broadcasting Co., which will release it over 117 TV and radio stations beginning in October. Sol Rosenblatt, attorney for the bishop, explained that financial considerations under the new contract are "very substantially greater" than under the DuMont pact.

The Concord Baptist Church of Christ in Brooklyn, rebuilt after a fire, will be dedicated June 5. The congregation claims this is the largest church ever built by a Negro group; it will cover a square block and seat 2,700.

The Congregational Christian Churches' Board of Home Missions will devote more than one-third of its $2,372,962 budget for the fiscal year beginning June 1 to race relations work in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The American Missionary Association (a division of the board) will spend $852,679 to help support six Negro colleges and universities in the south, a hospital, nurses' training and rural community center in Puerto Rico, interdenominational group ministries in interracial areas in New York, Chicago and Cleveland, and scholarships for young people of American Indian, Mexican and Puerto Rican descent.

The Y.W.C.A.'s centennial fund has reached $3,827,000 toward a goal of $5 million to expand the national organization's services.

EVERETT C. PARKER.

Offer Care for Chronically Ill

Oregon Methodists Plan Unique Service in 300-Bed Project—Episcopalians Ask Deletion of 'Protestant'

PORTLAND, ORE., May 16.—Oregon Methodists are planning to build a $3 million hospital on a seven-acre tract adjoining Willamette View Manor, their new eight-story $2.6 million retirement home on the outskirts of Portland. The unique feature of the 300-bed hospital is that it will not offer general services such as surgery and medical care, but rather will specialize in nursing home care, treatment and rehabilitation of the chronically ill for whom there is hope of improvement, treatment and care for victims of spastic paralysis, polio, rheumatic fever and other chronic childhood diseases, and care for tubercular patients who desire private hospitalization. Both the hospital and the retirement home, which occupies a 20-acre site, are enterprises of Oregon Methodist Homes, Inc. Carl McGee has resigned as executive secretary of the Oregon Methodist conference's interboard council to take over financial direction of the proposed hospital.

Episcopalians Appeal for 'Unique' Rating

At its 67th annual convention, the Episcopal diocese of Oregon adopted a resolution calling for deletion of the word "Protestant" from the official name of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In so doing, the convention delegates overruled their resolutions committee, which had rejected the proposal by a 4-1 vote. The resolution will be presented to the denomination's General Convention in Honolulu in September. In support of the resolution, Dean Joseph L. O'Rillion of Portland said that while the name change alone will not gain recognition of Episcopalians as a unique group among non-Catholics, it will "plant the seed" for such recognition. Pointing out that the army provides Jewish and Roman Catholic chaplains for service men of those faiths, he added: "We need to plant the seed so civil authorities will come to understand the needs of Anglican men and women in our public schools and state institutions."

Episcopalians to Build Second Hospital in Oregon

At the Episcopal convention Bishop Benjamin D. Dagwell announced that the diocese has purchased a 20-acre site in Medford, in southern Oregon, on which it will build a new community hospital which will offer surgical and general care. The diocese now operates a hospital in Portland—Good Samaritan, largest on the west coast. The convention approved the bishop's request that the diocese ask for a coadjutor bishop by next February. The appointment, he explained, is necessary to meet the demands of the rapidly growing diocese, and his own desire to retire within the next two years. In his annual address Bishop Dagwell, who has held office since 1936, challenged the delegates to examine anew the purpose of the church. "Our chief concern

is not tabulating statistics on adding machines and taking comfort from the fact that we are making progress," he said. "[It] needs rather be the regeneration of lives, the bringing of the knowledge of God and the saving grace of Jesus Christ to people of our generation."

Pastor Condemns Segregated Housing

At a recent conference here on minority housing, Myron C. Cole, pastor of First Christian Church, declared that residential segregation is the "last great barrier to equal rights." He deplored the fact that the churches are helping perpetuate a "bad" pattern by remaining wedded to the status quo, whereas labor, politics and sports are among those forces leading to desegregation. A panel discussion brought out the fact that Portland's nonwhite population has only partial access to the housing market, because of the policies followed by brokers, realtors and individual home owners. Results of a recent survey of the effect of nonwhite purchases on the market price of residences in Portland in the past decade, revealed for the first time at the conference, show that in five test areas investigated there was no evidence of mass panic selling at lower than normal prices.

State Provides Little Aid For School Districts

At its second longest session in history, the Oregon legislature this year considered a record 1,302 bills and passed a record 774. Despite numerous hearings at which their financial problems were laid before the legislators, distressed school districts, hard pressed by the state's rapidly growing population, gained little relief. Measures to outlaw comic books dealing in sex and crime passed the senate but died in house committee. One bill in this area was enacted; it forbids wholesale magazine dealers to require retail stores to buy objetctionable books along with good ones. Another bill adopted bans participation by women in wrestling matches. Still another makes wiretapping illegal except on authority of a court. Under its provisions, district attorneys will be able to obtain from circuit or district courts "listening warrants"—similar to search warrants—provided they prove they need to use that method in apprehending a criminal or preventing a crime.

And So Forth

First Baptist Church here on May 8 began a yearlong celebration of its 100th anniversary. The congregation, one of the largest in Protestantism in the northwest, was organized at the home of Josiah Failing. During the years it has established missions which later became Hinson Memorial, Calvary, Emmanuel and University Baptist churches.

In cooperation with the Oregon state hospital and the Oregon alcohol education committee, the state council of churches sponsored a pastoral workshop on the counseling and treatment of alcoholics. At the sessions held at the state hospital in Salem May 2-3 Otis Rice, executive director of the National Council of Churches department of pastoral services, lectured on the nature of the problem, recent advances in treatment and techniques of counseling.

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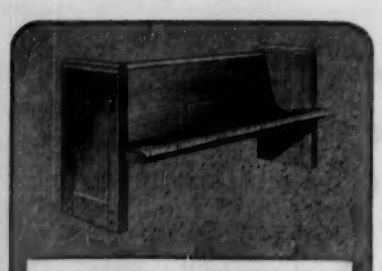

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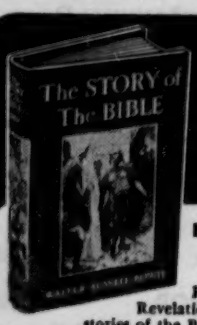

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Churches' Aid to Refugees Unique

World Council Division's Report Reveals Official Groups' Need to Depend on Volunteer Agencies

GENEVA, May 16.—The 1954 year-end report issued by the World Council of Churches' division of interchurch aid and service to refugees shows that Protestant and Orthodox churches last year contributed $31 million to emergency relief, refugee and interchurch aid services. This was around $3 million more than in 1954. Included in the total were 29,866 tons of supplies valued at $22,093,687, about $4 million spent on refugee work, and over $800,000 for inter-mission aid. The rest went to interchurch aid projects in Africa, Asia and Europe. The report will be used as reference at the worldwide consultation on world needs and strategy for 1956, which will be held at the end of this month in Les Rasses, Switzerland.

16,000 Refugees Resettled

The report points out that in spite of tremendous accomplishments in refugee work since the end of World War II there are still in the world an estimated 30 million homeless people. "A special response is called for from the churches in a world where the laws are such that only voluntary agencies can solve many refugee problems," it adds. Last year $3 of every $4 spent by church agencies for refugee aid came from grants made by such intergovernmental bodies as the Committee for European Migration, the U.S. Escapee Program and the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, which themselves do not or cannot "operate" in the field.

Summing up efforts by the churches to resettle refugees, the report shows that the World Council of Churches' service resettled 9,525 persons, Lutheran World Service 5,967, and Baptist and other groups the rest. Of these, 10,974 were assisted by transportation loans on a revolving basis; once they are established, they will repay the money. During 1954 over $1 million previously advanced for transportation was repaid by refugees already established in new homes and jobs overseas. Because of failure of the United States' Refugee Relief act to function effectively during 1954, half of the just over 16,000 refugees resettled by the churches went to Canada and most of the rest to Australia or South America.

Highlights of the Report

Korea is cited by the report as an example of effective interchurch aid in 1954. During the year $320,000 in cash and $2.5 million in supplies were sent to that country to be administered by Korean Church World Service. The bulk of this support came through the 30 communions cooperating in (U.S.) Church World Service and through Lutheran World Relief. Of the cash, $45,000 came from churches outside the U.S. In addition, an estimated $1 million for rehabilitation went to Korea from mission boards of U.S. and Canadian churches.

Other highlights of the report: One hundred nineteen ecumenical scholarships were awarded to theological students from 26 countries in Asia, Australia, Europe and North and South America. Over a thousand young people participated in 34 work camps sponsored by the World Council in 27 countries. Contributions in cash and kind for relief of the 900,000 Arab refugees in the Near East totaled over $2.5 million, distributed through a score of voluntary Christian agencies. A gift of $800,000 in cash was made to strengthen the efforts of German Protestants to aid their fellow churchmen in the Soviet zone in their struggle against poverty, lack of medicine and training facilities, and pressures of the present regime. In response to the needs of earthquake victims in Greece, shipments of food to that country were more than doubled over the amount sent in 1953; present plans call for a further sharp increase in 1955, thanks to the availability of Share Our Surplus supplies through Church World Service. The World Council made over 800 individual shipments of badly needed medical supplies worth $7,339 to church workers in eastern European countries.

Evidence of increased attention to needs outside Europe is the report's estimate that about one-third of the churches' efforts in 1954 were directed toward the Near and Far East, chiefly in the form of disaster and emergency relief ($6,300,000 in supplies), inter-mission aid and rehabilitation projects.

'Emergency' to Be Defined

The report concludes: "During 1955 church leaders are expected to define just what constitutes an 'emergency,' and what, while not an emergency, nevertheless calls for help from other than normal channels of support. The churches have also become more sensitive to Christian responsibility, in any action of relief, for social problems arising in areas of rapid social change in Asia and Africa. These and other problems—such as the high cost of freight charges for shipments of surplus commodities to certain countries—must be answered so effective coordination and ecumenical aid can be achieved. But the needs cannot wait. . . . in the ecumenical church the opportunity for service is always immediate."

ROBERT B. TILLMAN.

Guide Directs Visitors to Interchurch Projects

The 1955 *Interchurch Aid Directory for Church Visitors in Europe* has just come from the press at World Council of Churches headquarters, 17 Route de Malagnou, Geneva. It lists names, addresses and telephone numbers of key persons who can guide and inform visitors regarding European projects carried out with church aid.

Nepal Opens Door to Missionaries

For the first time in nearly two centuries the kingdom of Nepal in the Himalayan country has opened its doors to Christian missionaries. Already at work there is an international team of medical missionaries, serving under auspices of the National Christian Council of India.

Unitarians Speak On Social Issues

130th Annual Meeting Adopts Forward-Looking Measures, Is Cautious on Merger Commitments

BOSTON, May 25.—Boston has been host this past week to 583 delegates from all over the U.S. and parts of Canada and beyond attending the traditional May Meetings of the American Unitarian Association. This 130th annual meeting of the A.U.A. included sessions of such allied organizations as the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, the Unitarian Pacifist Fellowship, the Cosmo-Theist Society, the Unitarian Christian Fellowship, the Unitarian Historical Society and the denomination's organizations of ministers, laymen, laywomen and youth.

Chief among the peripheral meetings was the annual dinner of the Unitarian Service Committee, at which Eleanor Roosevelt, the main speaker, decried the recent cut in U.S. funds allotted to the United Nations Technical Assistance Program, asserting that "the only real bulwark we have against communism is set up by raising living standards in other countries." She also deplored the current wave of objections to UNESCO on patriotic grounds as a symptom of lack of self-confidence on the part of the U.S. as a nation.

Outspoken on Social Issues

As a crowd the Unitarians were characteristically lean, clean and keen. Addresses were outspoken on social issues. Harry Meserve, San Francisco minister, decried the current effort in California to enforce conformity by withholding the "tax-exempt" privilege from churches attended by members of "subversive" groups. "It is the business of liberal churches to encourage expression of individual opinion and responsible discussion of controversial issues," Mr. Meserve said. Kenneth D. Benne of Boston University protested against "pressures that make it unpatriotic to speak of peace." Mrs. Harry Overstreet warned against forces dividing American society into small hostile groups. "It is up to the liberal to work toward inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness, and toward truth-seeking rather than rigid partisanships," she declared. Wendell Berge of the attorney general's national committee to study antitrust laws called for "drastic surgery in the automobile industry through the application of the antitrust laws to restore a truly competitive situation."

In the 33rd annual Ware lecture, Henry DeWolfe Smyth of Princeton called for fair procedures in congressional investigations. Admitting that security is a "necessary evil," Dr. Smyth stated that such investigations should never be allowed to be used for political purposes and that "no suggestion of disloyalty should ever be permitted publicly unless there is undoubted evidence to prove it."

Faith in Man Reiterated

The traditional theological position of the Unitarians with its emphasis on faith in the future of the human race was expressed

BASIC FACTS IN TODAY'S ECONOMIC CONFUSION

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, the Christian Century is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Unwise Tax Methods Bequeathed to Us by Pre-Nineteenth Century England.—The tax methods that we use today were impressed upon us in our colonial period by the English government when it was entirely controlled by a rapacious and corrupt Tory landed aristocracy. The British fiscal practice (like that of every country in Europe) was to favor the landed aristocracy by corruptly putting lighter taxes on land, while corruptly overburdening business enterprise in the towns and cities.

Undertaxation and Overtaxation.—By means of undertaxation, all vacant land in the open country and all vacant city lots have at length become an immense aggregation of speculative holding. This condition has been made possible by piling taxes higher and higher upon productive business, while favoring land with such low taxes that people can afford to hold it out of use on speculation. For example, every sales tax that you pay is just another burden on Productive Business, which enables land to escape taxation by just that much.

Effects of Undertaxation, Overtaxation.—Undertaxation of land helps to give land an artificial, inflated price. This makes land harder to get for Productive Purposes. And at the very moment when light taxation is giving land an inflated price, and thus making it more difficult of access for Productive Business,—at that very moment Production is overburdened by heavy taxation. This heavy burden is added to the price of products, which makes it more difficult for the general market to absorb goods and keep business in prosperous motion.

As soon as practical business men understand this blunder in our national economic bookkeeping, they will rise up and put an end to it. —Send for circular, including stamp to cover postage (3 cents). Owing to misunderstanding, it is necessary to say that if no stamp is forwarded, no circular will be sent.—Not quite ready, but get in line for it.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

by William Gold, recently elected director of Liberal Religious Youth, by Phillips E. Osgood and by others. Said Earl Martin: "The Unitarians of today have a future potential comparable to that little band of Christians that laid the foundations of Christianity before the Council of Nicea." The anniversary sermon by Frank O. Holmes of Oklahoma City affirmed that despite the crisis of our times "a better life and a better world are waiting to be born." "No liberal worthy of the name has ever asserted that the way forward is sure or easy," he said. "What he has insisted is that the way forward is there. Liberals hold the conviction that men will be saved and that the world will be lifted . . . not by force, not by compulsion, not by appeal to fear, but by reason and love, by the awakened affirmative awareness and devotion of men before the vision of what life can be and is called to become."

A significant celebration was the diamond jubilee of the General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women. Ushers dressed in fashions of 1880 received the initial contributions to a projected fund of $50,000 to help strengthen religious liberalism on college campuses. The fund is planned as a gift to the denomination in celebration of the anniversary.

Eventual Union?

The movement of Unitarians and Universalists towards closer fellowship (which resulted in the founding in 1953 of the Council of Liberal Churches) was much in evidence. The youth organizations of the two denominations have united as Liberal Religious Youth, the Unitarian Pacifist Fellowship voted to merge with the Universalist Adin Ballou Fellowship, and the education, publication and public relations functions of the two communions now seem well on the way toward integration.

However, there is an obvious disposition on the part of many delegates to look before leaping when the subject of organic union with the Universalists is brought up. The Joint Interim Commission on Federal Union (which administers the Council of Liberal Churches) has made a report preparatory to the council's first biennial meeting in Detroit in August. In this report the commission suggests that if at the Detroit meeting there is strong sentiment in favor of organic merger *sooner or later*, that meeting might take action to appoint a commission to draw up a plan for such ultimate merger which might be discussed in the churches of both groups.

This brought to the floor here a resolution intended by its original instigators to put the brakes on any such action. The resolution stated the A.U.A.'s purpose that any proposal adopted at Detroit will be approved with the understanding that subsequently it will be fully discussed by the local churches before any action on it is taken. Also, a section of the resolution provides that "more time shall be allowed to evaluate the effectiveness of the C.L.C." After debate on the floor this section was retained in the resolution only by a vote of 168-154. The entire resolution was then passed by a voice vote which seemed to your correspondent's ears to be very close indeed. The fact that members of the joint interim commission said there was nothing in the resolution which was not already clearly understood by them made the vote very inconclusive. Proponents and opponents of merger voted on both sides of the question.

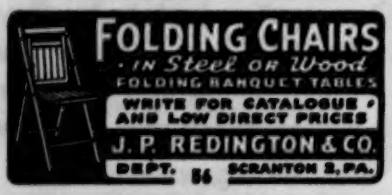
Debate Vigorous

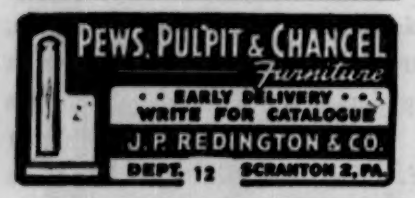
Other resolutions were discussed vigorously, sometimes with warmth. Terms like "creeping conformism" and "creeping timidity" were bandied about. A move to limit the privilege of re-election to office was defeated 314-55. The report of a committee on the "whole matter of resolutions" was received, but stripped of a provision which would use the term "sense of the meeting" in future resolutions. Resolutions on conservation, public school segregation, censorship, security, conscientious objectors, Indian rights, mental hygiene, and peace through the United Nations were passed. Copies may be obtained at headquarters, 25 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass.

A flurry of excitement occurred at the end of the session in which resolutions were discussed. Samuel Sears, a lay delegate from Chestnut Hill near Boston, proposed a resolution of his own declaring that it is the right of good citizens to testify when asked to do so by courts, grand juries or congressional committees. It further affirmed that any witnesses who refuse to answer questions of such bodies, taking refuge behind the 5th Amendment, are unworthy and, if they are ministers or employees of religious societies, should be fired. As Mr. Sears read his resolution hisses and groans were heard. The voice vote that followed was not altogether unanimous, but the resolution was defeated by a rousing majority.

Final event of the meeting was the anniversary dinner at which the annual award was presented to Emily Greene Balch, 88-year-old Nobel prize winner, for "a lifetime of crusading for civil liberties, interracial brotherhood, social and civil righteousness and world peace."

NATHANAEL M. GUPTILL.





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PRESBYTERIAN, U.S.A., GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(Continued from page 687)

"The glory of Christ's headship in his church . . . is both tarnished and challenged by the new status accorded the Virgin," it said, in part. The assembly approved the paper as part of the report.

The General Council reported that in 1954 giving by churches, individuals and women's organizations totaled $17,411,527, an increase over 1953 of 10.08 per cent. Budget askings for 1956 are $19,150,000, of which $4,500,000 is asked for Advance programs. Benevolence receipts of the boards rose from $3,200,626 in 1944 to over $15,041,845 in 1954.

Paul S. Wright, pastor of First Church, Portland, Ore., was elected moderator on the first ballot. His opponent in the balloting, John Sutherland Bonnell of New York city, was named chairman of the committee on evangelism. Dr. Wright, who was born of missionary parents in Iran, conducted the sessions with dispatch; he won the hearts of the commissioners by his quiet, gracious manner, and their minds by his ready wit and apt phrase.

Evangelism Featured

The sessions of the assembly were preceded by a conference on evangelism, such as has come to be an essential part of the denomination's annual proceedings. High point of the conference was the sermon by Charles B. Templeton, director of the division of evangelism, which was heard by an overflow crowd of 4,000. Effects of the interest in evangelism were to be seen in the report of the assembly's commission on evangelism, which called for preaching and evangelistic missions in local churches and establishment of regional schools for preachers on "preaching for commitment."

Climax of this year's "popular" meeting was the presentation of a historical play, *God's Man Alone*, depicting the struggles of John Knox for religious freedom. The play, written by Helen Kromer and directed by Howard Becker, was presented on Tuesday evening to 20,000 people gathered in Hollywood Bowl.

The work of the boards and of the churches was reported on successive evenings by means of outstanding sermons and other presentations emphasizing the needs of theological education, the plight of the inner city churches, the "new day" in missions and the need for prophetic preaching. On Sunday evening Methodist Bishop Gerald B. Kennedy of Los Angeles and Eugene Carson Blake, stated clerk of the General Assembly and president of the National Council of Churches, made forthright statements challenging tendencies which would identify the Christian faith with national idolatry.

A Case of Deposition

Sitting as a judicial group, the assembly voted unanimously to approve the judgment of its judicial commission supporting the action of the synod of Michigan and the presbytery of Detroit in deposing Claude G. Williams from the Presbyterian ministry. "We do not presume to sit in judgment on this man's soul, nor do we adjudge his civil rights," said the opinion. It declared three of the charges brought against Williams "moot," but asked that the first ("that the accused entertains certain doctrinal views repugnant to Presbyterianism") be sustained.

Fuller Professors Lose Appeal

The assembly also sustained the judicial commission in its recommendation supporting the action of the Los Angeles presbytery in refusing to receive the transfer from other presbyteries of three professors at Fuller Theological Seminary here, holding that the presbytery in such a case has the right to determine its membership. The presbytery's action had been based on the conviction that this seminary "by its past attitudes, records and the statements of some of its present officers and faculty members" hampers the work of the boards and agencies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

The smoothness of proceedings indicated that this is a mature church confident in its methods and well schooled to walk the thin line between tyranny on the one hand and anarchy on the other. The forward-looking proposals of the various boards were endorsed with enthusiasm.

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